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Illinois Mine Workers in Revolt

What Has Happened in Illinois?

By JOSEPH ANGELO

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.—

The compromise and the capitulation between the Lewis and the Fishwick-Walker factions in the Miner's Union is neither surprising (see my article, **Militant,** Nov. 15, 1930) nor is it anything new in the affairs of the miners' union. The compromise enriches the aresnal of the rank and file and will unquestionally result in a struggle for the formation of a new miners' union.

Both the Lewis and Fishwick-Walker factions "blame" Judge Edward's decision as the reason for the cessation of the sham warfare. Yet, the facts and action speak louder than the lips of these self-confessed labor fakers. It was the attorneys hired by the Lewis and Fishwick-Walker factions that prepared a written decision in line with Judge Edwards pronouncements and which the Judge signed. Judge Edwards was merely a puppet of the Lewis-Fishwick-Walker faction when he signed the lawyers' decree which stipulated that the injunction of Fishwick-Walker against Lewis be made permanent . . . that Lewis' union and constitution is the "only United Mine Workers union" . . . that district dues must be paid to Walker and the international dues to Lewis, etc. Everybody knows that Pres. Green of the A. F. of L. was in Springfield at the time of the last trial and that both Walker and Lewis had conferences with him, from which resulted the decision that the Judge made. Again, immediately after the oral decision made by the Judge in Springfield, both Lewis and Walker left for Washington, D C., where undoubtedly together with Green the compromise was further perfected to be presented to the Chicago conference. The reason for "blaming" the Judge who carried out their plans is to soothe the rising militancy of the rank and file miners and then shove the Lewis-Walker union down their throats.

As soon as the rank and file miners heard about the compromise between the labor-fakers, they went into motion rapidly. According to official report 6,700 miners slopped paying dues to Fishwick the first week of compromise. Since then, one local after another has stopped paying dues to both Lewis and Fischwick. Today, there are hardly a dozen locals in Illinois that are sending dues to either Lewis or Fishwick. Not only does the rising revolt of the miners express itself against the labor fakers in the stoppage of dues, but against the coal operators as well. The picketing of mines, fighting for a division of work and burning of railroad bridges near the mines in West Frankfort and the three thousand mine pickets on three mines that tried to lower the wages in Belleville show that the miners have lost hope, as far the official fakers are concerned, to settle their grievances. Therefore, the rank and file miners are attempting to settle their grievances themselves. The compromise has aroused tremendous anger among the rank and file which will express itself in many local strikes for better conditions and against any wage-cuts in Illinois.

Immediately after the compromise was made the adherents of the Howat faction who were left in the cold to shift for themselves, together with the Muste group called a conference in St. Louis for the purpose of organizing a new international union. It was decided to call the convention in St. Louis on April 15th. It calls upon the rank and file to organize a militant rank and file union, stresses the organization of the unorganized and doing away with Lewis bossism, yet it is a weak-kneed document —typical of the Muste-Howat group. It does not even openly attack its erstwhile friends—the Walkers, Fishwicks, etc.

The position of Howat is far from satisfactory to any Left winger. Since the agreement between Lewis and Walker, Howat has not uttered one syllable openly against either Walker or Fishwick who have gone back into the Lewis organization after spending hundreds of thousands of the miners' hard-earned dollars. Howat has not told the miners of Illinois why Fishwick and Walker kept such Left wingers as Morgan and Leech of Staunton, and Besson of Tayorville off the ballot at the last election of the re-organized miners' union. The rank and file miners, especially the Left wing, must insist that no doors be left open for Walker, Fishwick, etc., at the convention called in St. Louis.

There is no doubt that the position of Oscar Ameringer in calling for a district convention, as outlined in the last two is-

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Rank and File Rebel Against Fishwick-Lewis Agreement; New Union Call Issued

Once again a scoundrel's agreement has been made in the Illinois mine fields. The John L. Lewis and Fishwick-Walker cliques, with all their big and petty officials, have settled their little "differences" and agreed upon the place for each to take around the flesh pots.

Significantly enough this agreement was reached. signed and sealed in a capitalist court. The Fishwick-Walker combine is divorced from the so-called reorganized U. M. W. It has become the recognized Illinois district administration. Lewis withdraws his provisional officers from the district and is recognized as the head of the U. M. W. of A.—that is, whatever is left of it. And then, in an effort to prevent the expected wrath of the rank and file membership to become crystallized in an actual rebellion, the attorney in charge of this agreement, J. Londrigan, denounces any contemplated convention as "an act of secession and an open attempt to form a dual organization."

The rank and file membership will now be expected to pay the enormous bills of a court litigation between these two cliques which began Oct. 1929. They will be expected to pay continued royalties to these mercinary officials who have been leaving behind them a trail of wreckage of a once splendid organization and of miners' homes forced down to the lowest point of degradation. The bills are expected to be paid through the check-off from miners' wages collected by the operators. The latter are to get their share of the reward of the spoils to accrue from the agreement through increased profits derived by further lowering of the miserable conditions of the miners.

Will maters pan out as these thieves contemplate? Hardly—Discontent is now seething, a rank and file revolt movement is on foot. Staunton has become the stronghold of the rebellious forces. Shortly after the consummation of the agreement, 300 coal miners from several points in Illinois met in Staunton, denounced the agreement and decided upon the calling of a special convention. This to be held in St. Louis on April 15. Clearly enough there can be no alternative for this movement to consider seriously except a complete break with the corrupt officials and their who e line of policy of treason.

One year ago, on March 10, a widespread, healthy miners' rebellion was frustrated and harnessed into delusive channels. The revolt was a healthy one in the sense that it strove already then for a complete break with John L. Lewis and the whole tradition of his corrupt administration. It was, however, capitalized by the Fishwick-Walker-Farrington combine, who, with their whole string of rapacious petty officials, succeeded in turning this movement into one for personal spoils. To make such complete diversion of a healthy rebellious movement possible this combine cleverly utilized the "progressive' front of Howat, Brophy, Hapgood and others. Howat, despite his long experience with the corrupt officialdom of the U. M. W. of A., allied himself with these old hands at the game of treason. Previously he had been an ally of the Communists and genuine Left wing forces but the weakened condition reached by the latter through a continuous blunder policy made possible the backsliding of Howat. He no longer needed any such alliances. The result of this period since the beginning of the rebellion a year ago, in which Howat played such a miserable role, are now epitomized in the sell-out agreement. It becomes a powerful object lesson of what the road of reformism actually leads to.

Alexander Howat, who was eased out of his office by the Lewis-Fishwick-Walker agreement, has now with the other Muste type of "leaders", become one of the active sponsors of the present rebellion. A warning must be issued against this type of "leaders" who during the whole existence of the socalled reorganized U. M. W. of A. failed to fight the contemplated treason of the Fishwick-Walker administration. Thus they played the game of stalking horses for the reactionaries, being in the Fishwick camp one day only to return to the camp of other reactionaries a while later. The miners will win out if they rely on their own class strength.

(Continued on page 4)

A Photograph of comrade Leon Trotsky at his work-desk in Prinkipo, taken a short time before the fire broke out which burned down his home, destroying his library and many other valuable material.

Help Rebuild Trotsky's Library!

Authoritative reports from Prinkipo confirm in all their essentials the dispatches of recent date in the capitalist press concerning the fire which destroyed the home of comrade Trotsky in his island exile. By rare good fortune, the manuscript of the history of the Russian revolution which he is completing, an invaluable file of correspondence with Lenin, and a number of other documents were rescued from the flames. But the entire library of comrade Trotsky was destroyed, not to speak of many other personal effects.

The exact cause of the conflagration has not yet been established. Whether it was accidential, or due to the dastardly efforts of a Stalinist hireling—and the whole past of Stalin's persecution of the Opposition in general and Trotsky in particular makes the latter alternative not at all inconceivable—is not yet known. But in any case, the destruction of his library has placed the greatest handicaps upon comrade Trotsky and his work as the leader of the International Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists). Laboring under the difficulties of his Turkish exile—imposed upon him by the united front of Stalin, Kemal Pasha and the rulers of "democratic" Europe—has been an enormous hindrance in the recent past. The fire has multiplied the difficulties a hundred fold.

The assistance of every revolutionist, in every part of the world, is imperatively needed now to overcome these difficulties as much as possible. The International Secretariat of the Left Opposition has launched an appeal to all militants to help restore the library of comrade Trotsky. This can be done in two ways: (1) send all the books you can, books by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky written in Russian, German, French or English, or books on subjects related to their work (History, economics, sociology, etc.,) to the headquarters of the Communist League of America, at 84 East 10th Street, so that they may be forwarded immediately to comrade Trotsky in Turkey; (2) send all the money you can afford for an international fund which is being collected for the same purpose. All moneys will be strictly accounted for, and sent immediately to the International Secretariat in Paris. Make all checks and money orders payable to The **Militant,** 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

We urge all our friends and supporters to act upon this matter immediately. The need is great. The response must be equal to it. Help restore the library of the gifted leader of the International Left Opposition, Leon Trotsky.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

HERBERG QUOTES TROTSKY

We learned from Shakespeare that the devil can cite scriptures for his purpose, and this maxim is called to mind by the attempt of the Right wing of American Communism to make use of a quotation from Trotsky. In the March 14th issue of the **Revolutionary Age,** Herberg takes a few sentences from the revolutionary writings of the leader of the International Left Opposition and tries to fit them into an opportunist frame. In his search after an "authority" for the idea that objective causes pre-determine the passivity of American labor in the crisis, he cites, as "explanation which deserves serious consideration", the following remarks in Trotsky's autobiography:

"After a period of big battles and defeats, a crisis has the effect of depressing rather than arousing the working class. It undermines the workers' confidence in their power and demoralizes them politically. Under such conditions only an industrial revival can close the ranks of the proletariat, pour fresh blood into its veins, restore its confidence in itself and make it capable of further struggle."

As a general proposition it cannot be denied that international experience has tended to confirm this clear and precise formulation of the question. If Herberg were referring to it in that sense no one could object. But in offering Trotsky's general formula to explain away a radical perspective of the **American** crisis, Herberg distorts its meaning and applies it to a specific and concrete situation where it does not fit. Trotsky s conclusions, as quoted by Herberg, presuppose a number of factors which are absent in the concrete case of the American crisis and its effect on the labor movement.

In the first place, our crisis did not follow "a period of big battles and defeats", of the workers, except in the case of the miners. In the second place, the passivity of the workers did not arise from the crisis, as Herberg implies, but existed over a long period before it and arose on the basis of the prosperity. And finally, we maintain that the crisis has already exerted more of a radicalizing than a depressing influence on the working class of America. Illustrations: The unemployment demonstrations; the increase of Communist and Socialist votes; Lawrence strike, etc. From all these facts, which are specific pecularlaties of the American crisis situation, it is clear that the opportunist has quoted the Marxist only to distort him.

How significant is this little incident! Out of the voluminous literary productions of Trotsky—a veritable library on the theme of how to grasp the revolutionary situation and win the victory—the American Brandlerites extract one small paragraph devoted to retreats and defeats, and quote it, with approval, in a false connection. Anything will do—even a chance word from Trotsky—to bolster up the theory that "the reserves of American imperialism" remain unshaken. The "reserves" of the masters of America are undoubtedly very great, but the reserves of the proletariat are even greater. In our opinion the crisis is serving and will serve to awaken more workers to the consciousness of this fact.

Contradictory forces are at work in the crisis, but **its main** effect, already revealed to a certain extent, is to arouse wide sections of the workers out of the stupor and passivity induced by illusions of permanent prosperity. The crisis is thus maturing the conditions for a militant labor revival on an unprecedented scale. In view of all the circumstances of America's setting in the world situation, it is most reasonable to calculate that this development, once well started, will march with seven league boots.

Proletarian Communists, in contradistinction to opportunist theorizers of defeat, will hold such a perspective and work for it. On this point a quotation from comrade Trotsky (not one torn from its context and mis-applied, bu one directly contributed to the American situation) will be in order. In his letter to the first National Conference of the Communist League in the early part of 1929 he said:

"We must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that the might of American capi-

These clear and refreshing words outline a bold revolutionary perspective for the American proletariat. For that reason Right wing snivellers, who seek to invoke his authority for an opportunist policy, would never think of repeating them.

LAWRENCE GIVES THE SIGNAL.

The Lawrence strike ended suddenly in a compromise, but the twelve-day demonstration of the textile workers there had a nation-wide significance. It was heard from one end of the country to the other like a thunder-clap in a dead calm, warning of a coming storm. There is no doubt that it had a heartening influence on the conscious sections of the workers everywhere, stirring them with the thought that the signal for struggle had been sounded by an authoritative voice.

Lawrence is a name to conjure with. The tradition of 1912 has lost none of its luster with the passing of the years. The memory of that heroic example is a part of the armament, not only of the workers of Lawrence, but of the entire labor movement of America. That is why the militant, if short-lived, demonstration of the past weeks was a national bugle call.

The masters of America, sitting uneasily on a volcano of working class misery in the crisis, were no less alarmed than the workers were inspirited by the strike. This was shown by the feverish attempts to get it settled before it could consolidate its organization and extend its scope. The frenzied persecution of the strike leaders was prompted by their terror, as also were their concessions to the strikers, offered so soon after the strike began—a procedure quite unusual in the textile industry. The direct and immediate intervention of the federal government, with deportation warrants against some of the strike leaders, was a clear recognition that the strike was regarded by the capitalist over-lords as a national affair.

The National Textile Workers' Union appeared in Lawrence as the organization for the strike. That is also a sign of the times. A militant organization is the prerequisite for an effective strugge by the textile workers of Lawrence or anywhere else. To allow the corrupt machine of McMahon the right of way in a textile workers' strike is to condemn it in advance to betrayal and defeat.

A real and serious preparation for the great battles yet to come in this field presupposes the strengthening of the National Textile Workers' Union **as against** the treason machine of the U. T. W. This must never be forgotten. To help the N. T. W. prepare for the coming days means also to insist on a correct policy and a correct régime within it. This must not be forgotten either.

THE TRADE UNION TURN

It has been demonstrated many times that apparatus Centrism, which dominates the Comintern and the party today, is not a stable political tendency and is not capable of carrying out a consistent line of policy on any question. The thesis of the Right wing, which characterizes the régime as "sectarian" and attributes all evils to that, is superficial and incorrect. "Sectarianism", even in the worst sense, implies a certain constancy and conduct that unprincipled Centrism cannot even dream of.

Just the contrary. The statesmen of Stalinism are distinguished above all by the ability to jump from one position to its opposite; and by the readiness to denounce on one day what they advocated on the day before. Witness the liquidation of the "third period" and the tactics flowing from it. Witness, in the realm of tactics, the right-about-face in trade union policy. The Right wing is obliged to deny obvious facts in order to maintain its thesis. That is why their insistence on 'ulta-Left sectarianism" is losing all point, and consequently all power to influence the party members.

On several occasions, and particularly in the statement issued by our group in the needle trades, the Opposition has called attention to the manifest signs of the turn in would be changed and that our criticism would be a factor in hastening it.

Events have already confirmed this prediction, and unavoidably so. The party does not and cannot operate in a vacuum. It is an organ of the class struggle and lives constantly under its pressure. In the trade union field, the field of the basic and elementary organization of the masses, an arbitrary and unsound policy cannot fail to bring violent repercussions. Errors, especially a system of errors, on the trade union question brings swift and inevitable punishment. That is what has happened.

And already we find the party leaders admitting in the **Daily Worker** for February 28th that "our party has not yet learned the proper way to carry on trade union work." Of course it is somewhat dishonest to blame "our party", because it is the leaders who are responsible for the policy. But even in this they do not disappoint us. To demand honesty from Foster and Stachel would be to convict oneself of utopianism; of asking for things which are not attainable.

When we establish the fact that the party leadership is attempting to make a turn in trade union policy we do not mean thereby to express any confidence in them for the future. And our distrust is in no way diminished by the fact that they repeat now, with literal precision, phrases and formulae taken from the Opposition's platform. We have seen that happen before. They climb out of one ditch only to fall into another. Centrism has no ideas of its own; it must borrow from the Right or from the Left as occasion demands.

In this article they say:

"No systematic and persistent work is carried on for winning over the workers who are members of reformist and other reactionary trade unions". (Yesterday they were "company unions".)

Again:

"Bring into the revolutionary trade unions ALL WORKERS IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL VIEWS, INCLUDING THOSE WHO DO NOT AGREE WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY." (The emphasis is in the original to call special attention to a truth which they have just discovered.)

A third quotation:

"In no case should they permit the directions of the party leaders on the fundamental questions of trade union activity to be carried out mechanically." (This is said by the people who called the Illinois miners out on strike without even the formality of a strike vote.)

In this article in the **Daily Worker,** which is prefaced with a note about its "extreme importance," a clear change of policy is indicated. The bureaucrats have been compelled to lay aside their counterfeit Leftism in the trade union movement. Their pseudo-radical policy was proved by events to be completely bankrupt. They could no longer conceal the fact that the position of the party in the trade union movement was undermined by it.

The danger now is a big swing to the Right in the characteristic manner of Centrism. In cooperating wth the party's effort to extricate itself from the evil consequences of the "third period" tactics we must warn the Communist workers against this danger.

THE DEATH OF JOHN DONLIN

John Donlin, veteran of the revolutionary labor movement, is dead at Kansas City at the age of 68. In this tragic event the Communist movement suffers a real loss. The memory of this exemplary man and revolutionist is very dear to those who fought beside him in the past and it is not easy to speak of him as of one no longer in the struggle. For the writer of these lines the name of John Donlin stands today—as it has stood for twenty years—as the symbol of a model soldier for whom devotion and service to the cause of the proletariat is its own justification and its own reward.

John Donlin was not a conspicious figure, not a hero acclaimed by the crowd. He lived and worked obscurely as a man of the rank and file. He was a true "Jimmy Higgins"—that ideal militant of Ben Hanford's portrayal. He never made a speech, but he carried the soap-box for many a speaker. He was not a writer, but he could distribute the literature written by other men—and throw a dollar into the hat to pay for it. He was not a leader and never pretended to be one. But he could set before leaders an example of unwavering allegiance to principle. His biography, like that of uncounted thousands who have worked in quiet places, can be written simply: He lived, he worked for the revolution, and he died.

With his death the Communist movement in the middle West has lost a personality which was a bond uniting it with the best traditions of the past—with the Socialist Party of Debs and Hanford and with the I. W. W. in its days of glory. In the person of John Donlin the revolutionary proletariat was represented by the figure of a man who was able, in a rare degree, to rise above the mean and petty self-concern generated by the class society of the present day and to approach the dignity and stature of the Commuist man of the future.

By contemporary standards John Donlin was not a success in life. He was a worker, and as such his rewards were meager. The best energies of his manhood's prime were given to the revolution. Physical ailments, joined with the direst poverty, assailed him like twin monsters in his declining years. But his unconquerable spirit rose triumphant over all the vicissitudes of personal fortune, and he remained to the last a confident revolutionist. The old warrior never shirked his duties, even though his duty—as he saw it—consisted in the distribution of a leaflet.

While carrying out such a task he was arrested and confined in the hell-hole of Leeds Farm where once before he served a sentence in the Free Speech Fight of 1913. The indignities and abuses he suffered there brought on his death. Thus, despite his great infirmities, he died in harness as a worker and fighter for the cause. By our standards such a life represents a real success. It will be vindicated. A new generation of proletarian revolutionaries will pick up his banner and carry it to victory.

J. P. C.

WORKS BY LEON TROTSKY

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For Economic Collaboration with Russia

By SAM GORDON

The last census figures record more than six million workers out of a job. Considering the usual disparity experienced in the past between the official data and the actual numbers, this means in reality, close to ten million unemployed. 10,000,000 workers without jobs. With their families, additional millions are condemned to a starvation diet. Meanwhile, industry still remains clogged up, the crisis keeps on swelling, drawing more and more branches of production into the jam, and no outlet is in sight. Another capitalist country, only recently said to be going through a period of "belated capitalist bloom"—France—has entered the ban of the world wide depression. There too, the unemployment figures are mounting, misery and discontent are growing. The world market "has shrunk."

One country alone shows signs of bustling economic life. That is the Soviet Union. While capitalism is on the down slide, while capitalist anarchy once more, and to a far more serious degree than ever before, upsets the already shaky balance of the existing social conditions, planned, socialized industry in Soviet Russia advances by leaps and bounds, pointing out the inevitable road that world economy must take in the future.

On the one side, we have world unemployment, an expression of the failure of the capitalist system. On the other, we have the Five Year Plan, an example of successful socialist construction.

In the capitalist United States, the last census figures tell us that new millions of workers have been thrown out of industry. In Soviet Russia the latest statistics show that nearly a million new workers have been **introduced** into industry, in the course of the execution of the Five Year Plan. The second year shows that the plan has been far surpassed in the oil output, and has registered enormous rises in steel, machinery and electro-technical production. The collectivization of agriculture, which, according to the figure given, has reached 50 per cent in the grain area, has enabled the Soviet Union to export **threefold** the amount of grain exported in pre-war years. The seven hour day has been established for 43.5 per cent of the total number of workers and the average wage has been increased by 12.1 per cent for the period of the first two years of the plan. All in all, an especially pointed proof of the superiority of the socialist system of production over the capitaist methods, particularly offset by the depression and decline of world economy.

These indisputable successes stand firm. The Five Year Plan has confirmed the expediency of socialist production and has guaranteed successes for the future. But the Five Year Plan cannot be carried out without the aid of the outside world. The backwardness of Russian industry cannot altogether be wiped out. Finished products (shoes, clothing, etc.) are needed to raise the living standards of the workers, to replenish the energy, the material resources of the Russian workers who have spared no sacrifice in their enthusiastic execution of the plan. Light machinery must be imported in large quantities to supplly these needs.

The basic product of Soviet export is grain. The collectivization of argiculture, based on high class technique, can bolster up the grain export immensely and thus greatly increase the purchasing power of the Soviets with which industrialization, planned economy would receive new, more stupendous impulses. For this purpose too, large imports of agricultural machinery are required.

At present, the capitalist governments, despite the deep-going depression that is undermining them, are unwilling to facilitate these imports to the Soviet Union, which would give work to thousands upon thousands of workers in their own countries. They prefer to divert the workers' discontent away from the real causes by fairy tales of "Soviet dumping." They want to force the workers' state to retreat from its hard-earned socialist positions. They fear the great sweep that the Five Year Plan gives to international revolutionary action.

Soviet Russia, despite its great achievements, is not an isolated, self-sufficient economic unity. It is bound up by the threads of world economy and must act as part of it, utilizing its strengthened positions as a weapon of the world revolution. The Soviet Union needs the aid of world economy for the success of the Five Year Plan. The capitalists are reluctant to grant this aid. The workers of the capitalist countries are out of work in large numbers. Soviet orders from their countries means work for thousands of them. The workers are the ones that must fight for long term credit grants to enable the Soviets to buy machinery with which to assure the success of the Five Year Plan.

Soviet orders to the United States, even under the limited credit possibilities of the present, have already given work to thousands of American workers, who would otherwise have been thrown into the gutter. "Had it not been for these Russian orders [for machine tools]" writes the **Cleveland Plain Dealer,** "many Cleveland factories would have faced a shutdown when automobile orders temporarily stopped." "Employment for several hundred additional men will be furnished . . . in filling a contract . . . to recondition thirteen steamers recently acquired by the Soviet government from the U. S. Shipping Board." The last, an item from the **Boston Herald.**

Tractor factories, automobile plants. transportation enterprises and all sorts of industrial undertakings have been kept going by Soviet orders. A group of American business men is even now negotiating with the U. S. government for credits to the Soviet Union. Their leader, Col. Cooper, the engineer of the Dnieprostroy Power Station in Russia, stated in a speech before the American-Russian Chamber of Commerce recently, that

"It requires but a small amount of study from my point of view to visualize the not far distant time when we can be exporting to Russia at least one billion dollars per annum".

And he gave quite substantial reasons to back up his contention. Yet, even if his estimate were a bit optimistic, there cannot be any doubt that the possibilities for Soviet purchases here would offer serious relief to large sections of the unemployed here in the states.

What then is the task of the Communists under these conditions. The task of the Communists is to link up closely this demand for the extension of long term credits to the Soviet Union with their general struggle for unemployment relief. To concretize before the workers the possibilities that these long term credits offer for their immediate relief, in the shape of filling orders required by the Five Year Plan. To make clear to them on this opportune occasion the superiority of the socialist system. And to mold on this basis their international class solidarity with the workers of the Soviet Union. In this popular and concrete manner of revolutionary propaganda, supported by facts and by a clear Marxist principle position that recognizes the international character of the working class movement at all times, unheard of progress can be made in the way of developing the class consciousness of the American workers and advancing the class struggle in the United States as well as in every other capitalist country.

But what is the official party leadership doing in this dire on? Absolutely nothing. The aid that the Five Year Plan can be in relieving unemployment in the capitalist countries, finds no explanation, no place in the propaganda of the party around the unemployment problem. Why? Because such propaganda is in direct contradiction to the Stalinist theory of the building up of socialism in one country, which rejects the close international bonds between the construction of socialism in Russia and the class struggle in the rest of the world. Instead of asking the aid of the proletariat of the West to obtain credits for Soviet industry, Stalin deals with the capitalists behind the backs of the workers under the shameful un-Marxist and anti-revolutionary banner of "the peaceful cohabitation of capitalism and Communism." The workers of Europe and America are not drawn into the concrete every day struggle of the heroic workers of Soviet Russia. The tasks of the Communists in the capitalist countries are considered isolated and apart from the tasks in Russia—if they are not held to be altogether insignificant. International revolutionary action is precluded by the narrow un-Leninist policy of national socialism. The Stalinist leadership in the U.S.S.R. and in the Comintern looks upon the international proletariat not as upon the indispensible allies in the struggle for the construction of socialism as part of the world revolution, but rather as upon admiring spectators who will some day, somehow be moved to emulate the example of Soviet Russia.

What happens under such circumstances? A recent event in Germany serves as a good illustration. A group of German capitalists, after a visit to the Soviet Union decided to grant the latter credits to the extent of $250,000,000. Immediately, the Berlin **Rote Fahne,** the central organ of the German Communist party, follows this with a headline "Five Year Plan Gives Work To Tens of Thousands of German Workers". What part was played in this matter by the German Communists? Absolutely none. That is not at all. The credit grant has come up before the Reichstag for ratification. The ractionary Brüning government, supported by the yellow social democracy, refuses to guarantee the credits in sum, but purposes on the contrary to take up each case of credit extension seratim: a process that delays the shipment of machinery absolutely necessary to meet the requirements of the Five Year Plan. But in all this, the Communist party is caught off guard. Opportunities come and go without being utilized, without being exploited to revolutionary advantage.

The Five Year Plan, executed without an international revolutionary perspective and in the well known bureaucratic manner of the Stalinist adventurers, has been considerably endangered in the past. The "one-hundred-percent collectivization" policy weakened it greatly on the peasant front, The irresponsible excesses on the industrial front, carried out in the name of "the Five Year Plan in three years, inflicted considerable damage in the way of bringing about a definite and dangerous lagging behind the program, which the **Pravda** recently points out under the title: "Alarm Signals". There is a great shortage in finished goods. The material conditions of the workers are not keeping pace with the rapid strides in industry. The Five Year Plan needs help. Already the Centrist bureaucracy under Stalin is preparing to capitulate before the difficulties by a Right wing turn in the direction of a "Neo-Nep". All Communists must be on guard against the return to the opportunist swamp and fight against it.

The slogan of long term credits to the Soviet Union must penetrate the broadest layers of workers and unemployed in the formation of a solid united front of struggle. The fight around the slogan of long term credits to the Soviets is a fight that eventually results in mutual benefits to the workers of both the United States and Russia. It cements the bonds of working class solidarity on an international scale, based on the actual needs of the moment. The slogan of long term credits to aid the execution of the Five Year Plan unites the Workers of America and of Europe with the workers of Russia in a combined struggle against capitalism and for the victory of world socialism. It is the duty of the Communists to carry it deep into the masses.

The Slogan of the Six-Hour Working-Day

By ARNE SWABECK

For almost half a century the slogan of the eight hour working day was one of the most powerful slogans of the working class throughout the world. Everywhere it became inscribed upon the proletarian banners, inspiring solidarity, and unifying the struggles. It was violently contested throughout by the capitalist enemy.

To the capitalist class the longer workday represents so much more absolute surplus value produced without any additional investments in the instruments of production owned by them. More surplus value spells more profits. This is the basic reason for their bitter opposition to any shortening of the workday. They have no intention of granting it without the most severe struggle. In fact they would rather, pressed to the wall, grant many other concessions which do not cut so directly into their profits. They know that the shorter workday is a real gain for the working class.

A "Visionary" Slogan

The eight hour work day is not as yet established for the working class as a whole in any country. Nevertheless, would it be more "visionary" today to advance the slogan of the six hour workday without reduction in pay than it was when the eight hour work day slogan was first promulgated preceding the struggles of the '80s? Not at all!

Could victory in a struggle for realizing the six hour work day appear within the realm of practical possibility to the American workers today? The answer must be: "Yes." One need only remember that already in 1922 the United Mine Workers convention, by rank and file pressure, adopted a program of fight for the six hour work day. At this moment within the various conservative railroad unions there is developing a demand for the six hour work day without reduction in pay. One may also recall the proposal of the last A. F. of L. Metal Trades Department convention for a five hour work day without taking it seriously in the sense of expecting a struggle for its attainment.

It is, however, primarily as an offensive slogan for the coming rising labor movement that the demand for the six hour work day without reduction in pay assumes its real importance. Secondly, it can become a powerful means of unifying the working masses, employed and unemployed alike, and set them into motion against their class enemy. Thirdly, it corresponds with the working class needs today. Particularly in the industrially highly developed United States has machine production reached such a stage that the very right to live for millions of workers becomes bound up with a drastic reduction of the present working day.

The Workers' Resistance

Working class resistance to the capitalist offensive is appearing now in its first early manifestations. The short strike of the Lawrence textile workers has been followed by others in the New England textile region. At the Kensington, Pa. mills, several thousand workers have fought militantly against the increased speed-up. So far it is only embracing light industry, but in southern Illinois also groups of coal miners and metal workers have resisted the bosses in the face of a most terrific onslaught. Likewise in the unemployment movement there is a growth of militancy. All in all, these early signs are the harbingers of great strugles to come.

Even a possible revival of the capitalist production cycle would not seriously alter this perspective. Such a possible revival would have as its foundation more speed-up and more wage reductions. It would only make so much more inevitable the resistance of the working class.

A general reduction of the American working class standard is the avowed policy of the capitalist masters. Particularly is the unemployment crisis being taken advantage of for a drastic wage-cutting campaign. Demands for "reduced cost of production" are continually reiterated in publicity material from the big banks of the country. The extent to which actual wage cuts are being enforced may be noted from late reports of the Labor Bureau, Inc. During February wage cuts were twice as numerous as increases.

The Miners and Railroad Workers

The coal miners and the railroad workers look forward to the establishment of the six-hour day as a means of diminishing the ravages of unemployment. We remember the impudent demand of John L. Lewis, made back in 1928, to eliminate from the industry 250,000 coal miners. In reality, more than that number have already been either definitely eliminated from the industry or remain there—in the standing army of unemployed. In the railroad industry on the Class 1 Roads, between December 1929 and December 1930 a total of 248,527 workers lost their jobs according to the Bureau of Statistics of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In other industries, similarly, the machine developments are rapidly displacing labor power, adding to the ranks of the unemployed even during the favorable periods of the capitalist production cycles.

It may thus appear as if the demand for the six hour work day without reduction in pay, in the present unemployment situation, becomes purely an objective of amelioration. While naturally this is one of its purposes, it is by no means the whole. Such a demand presented at this time and adopted by the organized section of the working class, would effectively help to prepare for the general workers' offensive which will become so essential.

Immediate demands by their very nature are limited in scope and cannot present any solution to the working class problems. They do not by themselves reach beyond the bounds of reformism and always carry the danger of strengthening of reformist illusions. But an actual demand for the shorter work day when obtained can become a source of further strength to the working class in its advance toward the revolutionary goal. The struggle for its attainment can become a powerful lever to set mass forces into motion. Moreover, by virtue of the fact that it embraces the interest of the employed and unemployed workers alike it will similarly become a powerful instrument for unity of the masses.

The six hour work day slogan, which does not exclude other necessary slogans but supplements them, particularly possesses this quality. It further becomes the general focal point for all efforts towards the shorter work day. This is already now a life's necessity for the American working class. The six hour day without reduction in pay should become the central slogan of the toiling masses.

THE SUCCESSES OF THE DANGERS OF
SOCIALISM AND ADVENTURISM

(Continued from Last Issue)

At the conclusion of the five year plan, the coal consumption per inhabitant in the U. S. S. R. will be one-eighth that of the United States. The Soviet production of oil is seven percent of the world production, the United States producing 68 percent of it, that is, ten times as much.

More favorable relations exist in the textile industry, but even here the difference in our disfavor is enormous: the United States has 22.3 percent of the weaving machines, England—34.8 percent, the Soviet Union—4.2 percent. These figures become all the more striking if one applies the number of weaving machines to the population figures.

The Soviet railway system will be increased by the five year plan by 18,000-20,000 kilometers and will thus reach 80,-000 kilometers as against 400,000 kilometers of American railways [a kilometer is ap. five-eighths of a mile]. Out of every 100 square kilometers in area, the United States has 51.5 kilometers of railway. Belgium has 370 km., the European part of the U. S. S. R. has 13.7 km., and the Asiatic part has 1 km.

The figures of the merchant marine are still less favorable. England's share in the world merchant marine is 30 percent, the United States' is 22.5 percent, that of the Soviet Union—0.5 percent.

The United States, in 1927, had almost 80 percent of the world total of automobiles, while the share o the Soviet Union was not even to be calculated in tenths of a percent. At the end of the five year plan, 158,000 automobiles are provided for in the country. This means: one machine for more than 1,000 people (today, there is one machine for every 7,000 people). According to Ossinski, at the end of the five year plan we "will easily outstrip Poland" (if it remains at its present level).

False theory indubitably signifies mistakes in policy. From the false theory of "socialism in one country' flows not only a vitiated general perspective, but also a criminal tendency to paint up the present Soviet reality.

HAVE WE ENTERED INTO THE "PERIOD OF SOCIALISM"?

The second year of the five year plan is characterized in all the speeches and articles in this manner: "The national economy of the country has entered into the period of socialism." Socialism is declared already realized "at its foundation". Everybody knows that socialist production, be it only by "its foundation" is a production that satisfies the direct needs of man. However, in our country, with a frightful scarcity of merchandize experienced in the land, heavy industry increased last year by 28.1 percent, and light industry by only 13.1 percent, putting a hindrance upon the basic program. Even if this proportion which has been realized is acknowledged as ideally right (which in no way corresponds to the reality) there will nevertheless follow that, in the interest of a sort of **"primitive socialist accumulation"** the population of the U. S. S. R. is obliged to tighten its belt more and more. But this indicates precisely that socialism is impossible with a low level of production and it is only the preparatory steps towards socialism that are possible.

Is it not monstrous: the country does not rise out of the scarcity of merchandize, the feeding difficulties exist every day, the children lack milk—and the official philistines declares: **"The country has entered into the period of socialism."** Could socialism be more fraudulently discredited

In spite of all the economic successes in industry and agrarian economy, the storage of grain today represents more of a **"political campaign"** than an economic operation. in other words, it is realized by state coercion. During the reign of the epigones, the word "symtchka" (alliance with the peasants) was spoiled in every sense, but they forgot to give it the only correct sense, which consists of creating economic relations between town and country which permits the country to exchange its products, voluntarily and with ever-increasing interest, for industrial products. Thus, the success of the alliance with the peasantry consists of the diminution of **"political"** methods for the storage of grain, that is, of coercion. This can be attained only by the closing of the scissors of industrial and agricultural prices. But Stalin has affirmed, thirteen years after the October revolution, that the scissors are only "bourgeois prejudices". In other words he acknowledged that the scissors are spreading instead of closing. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the very word "smytchka" has completely dissappeared from the official dictionary.

A grain storage official, in explaining the slowness of the storing by the insufficient pressure of the local power on the Kulak, makes the following reflection: **"The calculations and the maneuvers of the Kulak are not at all complicated. If he is taxed with three tons, he can make up for them by a penalty of 400 rubles. It is enough for** him to sell upon the speculative market **half a ton in order to recover his penalty with a surplus and thus retain for himself two and a half ton of grain."** This striking reckoning means that on the speculative market the price of grain is at least six times higher than the state price, perhaps even eight or ten times higher, since we do not know at what the surplus is to be valued. This is how the scissors, which are only bourgeois prejudices to Stalin, pierce through **Pravda** and show their two points.

The communications on the progress of grain storage are given every day in **Pravda** under the epigraph: **"The struggle for grain is the struggle for socialism."** But when Lenin employed this phrase he was far from thinking that the country had "entered" into the period of socialism. The fact that one is obliged to fight—yes, **to fight!**—for grain, simple grain, shows that the country is still extremely far off from the socialist régime.

The elementary foundations of theory cannot be trampled upon with impunity. One cannot confine himself to the socialist forms of production relations—forms which are immature, rudimentary, and in agriculture, exceedingly fragile and conflicting—and make an abstraction of the principal factor of social development—the productive forces. The socialist forms themselves have or can have an essentially different social content in accordance with the level of technique. The Soviet social forms on the basis of American production—that is already socialism, at least in its first stage. The Soviet forms on the basis of Russian technique—are only the first steps in the struggle for socialism.

If one takes the level of present-day Soviet life, the daily life of the toiling masses, the cultural level, consequently, and the number of illiterates—and if one does not lie, does not stuff his mind, if one does not deceive himself or others, if one is not addicted to the vice of bureaucratic demagogy—then it must be honestly recognized that the heritage of bourgeois and czarist Russia constitutes 95 percent of the daily life, morals and customs of the overwhelming majority of the Soviet population, while the elements of socialism represent only 5 percent. And this is in no way in contradiction with the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet regime, and the enormous successes in economy. All this is the scaffolding around the future edifice, or rather around one of the corners of this edifice. To tell the worker-builders who are erecting this scaffoling with bricks and cement, who frequently do not appease their hunger and are liable to fatal accidents, to tell them that they can already move into this house—**"we have entered into socialism!"**—is to make fun of the builders and of socialism.

FOUR YEARS OR FIVE?

We are decidely opposed to the lightness with which the untested five year plan has been converted into a four year plan. What do the facts tell us on this subject?

The official figures of the growth of industrial production mount for the second year to 24.2 percent. The growth provided for the second year of the five year plan (21.5 percent) is thus exceeded by 2.7 percent, but it is behind the four year plan by almost 6 percent. If one takes into account that with regard to the quality and the retail price there is a considerable retardation and that the calculable coefficient is attained by the lash, it will be clear that in reality the second year unfolded itself according to the rhythms of the five year plan and in no case according to the rhythms of a four year plan.

In the field of **fundamental construction,** the provisions for the year 1929-1930 have not been realized; almost twenty percent is lacking; the greatest retardation shows itself in the construction of new gigantic metallurgical factories, in the installations of coke production, in elementary chemicals and electrical construction, that is, in the fields which constitute the basis of all industrialization. At the same time, **the decline in construction costs** of 14 percent provided for in the plan has been realized only up to 4 percent. It is clear, without commentary, what is the meaning of this bookkeeping four percent dragged out by the hair: let us be thankful if the construction costs have not increased. The combined coefficient of retardation of the plan will thus be greater than 30 percent and not 20 percent. There is the heritage which falls to the third year in the sphere of capital construction.

The "gaps" in the plan cannot be filled at the expense of light industry, as was usual to a certain extent in the first two years, since the most important retardation in the plan is to be observed precisely in the sphere of the production of finished objects. According to the five year plan, light industry should have risen in 1929-1930 by 18 percent; according to the four year plan —by 23 percent. In reality, it rose only by 11 percent (according to other data, by 13 percent). Yet, the dearth of merchandize requires extraordinary efforts in the sphere of light industy.

It has been stated that one of the specific tasks of the supplementary quarter* introduced between the second and the "third" years was the "stabilization by every possible means of the monetary circulation and of the entire financial system". This is an official admission for the first time that the financial system is shaken up at the end of the first two years of the five year plan by an empirical leadership devoid of all planning. The monetary inflation signifies nothing less than an uncertified loan contracted at the expense of the years to come. Therefore it will be necessary to repay this loan in the next few years. The appeal for the stabilization of monetary circulation demonstrates that although "we have entered into the period of socialism" it is necessary not to liquidate the chervonets, but rather to keep it intact. As to the theory, here it is simply turned upside-down.

PAST MISTAKES AND THE FATE OF THE PLAN

In this ailing state of the chervonetz all the errors, all the false calculations, all the precipitations, disproportions, gaps, deviations and dizziness of the economic direction of the Centrists is summed up. The ailing chervonetz constitutes the heritage of the first two years of the five year plan. To surmount the inerita of inflation is not on easy task. The application of the financial plan in the first month of the supplementary trimester bears witness to that. But what we must not forget above all is that the success of the stabilization of the chervonetz (which is absolutely indispensible) bear the germs of a no less great deflation in industry and in economy as a whole. Uncertified, and especially, secret loans, made at the expense of the future do not go unpunished.

As to the general growth of industrial production for the past two years, the figure is 52 per cent against 47 per cent provided for by the plan. that is to say, an accountable increase of only 4.5 per cent. If we take into account the retardation from the point of view of quality, we can say with certainty that in the best case we have approached during the first two years the previsions of the plan, and that "as a whole" only, that is to say, if we regard a whole series of internal disproportions only in the abstract.

The characterization that we have made of the weighty heritage of the first two years of the five year plan does not reduce in the least the significance of the successes that have been acquired. These successes are enormous in their historical importance and all the more significant because they were obtained despite the uninterrupted errors of the leadership. At the same time, the actual acquisitions not only do not justify the lightheadedness with which the jump is being made from five years to four years. but do not even give any guarantee for the execution of the plan foreseen for five years, because that necessitates the payment exacted by the disproportions and "gaps" of the first two years in the course of the three years to come. The less the leadership will prove capable of foresight, of raising their ears to warning, the heavier will the debt become.

To verify the progress made by the five year plan, to keep an eye on some branches, to curb others—not on the basis of **a priori** figures that are inevitably inprecise and conditonal, but on the basis of a concientious study of experiences—that is the chief task of economic direction. But it is precisely this task that presumes democracy in the party, in the trade unions and in the Soviets. The good progress of socialist construction is impeded by the ridiculous and at the same time monstrous principle of the infallibility of the "general" leadership, which is in reality only inconsistency and the general danger.

(To be Continued)

* This year the termination of the economic year has been carried forward from October to January—which inserts a supplementary quarter.

The Rank and File of the Miners Revolt

(Continued from page 1)

Where are the Communist party and National Miners Union forces now when this new rebellious movement is taking shape? Unfortunately their complete departure from the correct policy of building the Left wing within the existing mass movements, even though these may be under control of reactionaries, has brought them to a position of complete isolation—if not to use the stronger term—complete discreditment. The N. M. U. is non-existent as an organization in Illinois, and there could be no better proof of fatal results from a departure from correct policies. Today there is a splendid opportunity for a united Left wing to give actual leadership.

The misery of the conditions of the miners in the Illinois fields can hardly be described. Unemployment and stark misery stalks the coal producing territory. The Orient Mine No. 1, the biggest in the country, worked exactly 70 days during 1930. Several small strikes are now in progress in southern Illinois, fought tooth and nail by the union officialdom, by the coal operators, and by the state police. The mercenary combination the rank and file miners will henceforward find yet more solidly opposing them. Their road is not an easy one.

The National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition), in view of the situation now existing in the Illinois coal fields calls upon the coal miners to oppose with might and main the putting into effect of the Lewis-Fishwick-Walker agreement. We propose to the Communist party and the National Miners' Union forces the establishment of a united front of all Left wing elements in support and possible leadership of the present rank and file opposition movement. It should by all means be strengthened to bring a powerful delegation to the St. Louis convention on April 15. If at this convention there is a substantial delegation actually representative of the membership, the only correct road for the convention to take must be a complete break with the new unified clique of the officialdom, their policies, and their views. This should result in the formation of a new miners' union on a class basis. Our N. E. C. has as its further policy the establishment of one union of all the coal miners of the country through the amalgamation of this new union to be formed with other sectional organizations opposing the Lewis-Fishwick-Walker machine, such as the new union organized in West Virginia and the National Miners' Union. Such a union, in order to fulfill its role, must come about through this amalgamation on a devnite class basis so that it will really be able to struggle against the operators under a militant leadership and give the necessary guarantees for rank and file control through complete union democracy and all the measures necessary to carry this into effect.

We urge the coal miners to make the experiences of the past, fundamental object lessons for the future. These experiences should be utilized as a warning against corrupt officials and opportunist careerists penetrating their ranks for the sole aim of acquiring office in order to become better agents for the operators. It is necessary that the coal miners also learn a serious lesson from the activities of Howat and the part he played by becoming a "progressive" shield for the underhanded treason of the Fishwick-Walker combination. The severest criticism and strictest vigilance will help in safeguarding against repetiton. It is necessary that the Left wing demand from Howat as a condition of joint action of all forces of the opposition movement now developing in Illinois that he agree to this policy here outlined and that he be willing to cooperate with the Left wiug, including the N. M. U. forces, for the realization of this policy.—A. S.

THE PHILADELPHIA CASES

From Philadelphia, we hear that the I. L. D. is finally taking up the question of the defense of comrades Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgenstern, two members of the Left Opposition arrested February 27 and held for sedition. No definite action has yet been taken, but we know from letters received from many cities that protests of I. L. D. members played a distinct role in compelling a change of front on the part of the organization's directors.

The Communists and the Progressives

By JAMES P. CANNON

Two years ago when the Muste movement began to take shape in the Conference for Progressive Labor Action we devoted a number of articles to the question of the "progressives" and the Communists in the **Militant.** At that time the Lovestone Right wing held the leadership of the party and—strange as it may seem in the light of later developments—they were repudiating any idea of a united front. The Opposition waged a polemical battle against the official position. We analyzed the new "progressive" movement from a different standpoint and drew different tactical conclusions.

In our Platform and in several special articles and editorials we advocated the policy of the united front toward the new movement. In doing so, we emphasized the fact that the movement of "Progressivism" had a **two-sided** character. On the one side, we said, it reflected "radicalization of the workers growing within the old unions as well as in the ranks of the unorganized masses." On the other side we defined the rôle of the leaders of the movement as follows: "Their rôle, *objectively speaking*, is to express this radicalization in words, to harness it in action and to head it off from any real collision with the capitalists and the A. F. of L. machine." We said: "The new movement is a challenge to the Communists for the leadership of the coming fights;" and we advocated the tactic of the united front as the weapon of the Communists. (Quotations from the **Militant,** March 1, 1929.)

The events of the past two years, and especially the more recent developments, have revived interest in this dispute and, incidentally, have confirmed the opinion we expressed in the above mentioned article that the question would remain a live one and take on even greater importance. In our opinion the policy of the Opposition has stood up and could be restated now as the correct line for the Communists. The emphasis, however, must now be shifted to another phase of the question, because the positions of the factions have radically changed.

The Foster faction is on the verge of a big swing to the Right. The Lovestone faction has already made the swing. It is no longer necessary to explain to the Right wing that Communists must not reject the idea of a united front under certain conditions with reformists, including the so-called progressives. They are shouting so loud now for a united front at any price that they recall the Russian proverb which Lenin quoted to people who contradicted themselves: "Don't spit in the well—you may want to drink out of it."

No, it is necessary now to discuss the problem from another angle. Two years ago the weight of argument had to be placed on the tactic of the united front against people who were opposing it in principle. Now we must emphasize **the conditions** and **the limits** of the united front. This applies to the Right wing already today, and to the Fosterites—who are swinging to the Right—it will be necessary tomorrow.

There is nothing in the conduct of the pseudo-progressives for the past two year to merit any more confidence than we expressed in our first analysis of their movement. On the contrary, the estimate of them should be written in harsher words of condemnation. And this applies to the entire "progressive" leadership **without any exceptions.** Every single one of them, from Muste to Howat. has played the contemptible rôle of decoy for the reactionaries. The latest, and most flagrant instance, is the *shameful betrayal of the Illinois miners,* a betrayal made possible by the so-called progressives who rallied the insurgent mines and led them back into the reactionary camp.

There is good reason to think that the present crisis is preparing a much wider field for the exploration of the progressives and thereby will magnify the problem of the Communist attitude.

The staggering burdens of the crisis are being loaded onto the shoulders of the workers. Millions have been torn away from their fancied security and hurled into the ranks of the unemployed. Millions of others are suffering drastic reductions of their income, by wage-cuts and part-time employment. A wholesale lowering of the workers' living standards is being effected. What result can this have on the minds of the workers?

As we see it, the main effect will be to shatter the illusions which have been the greatest barrier against the organization of a militant class movement. The discontent of the masses will increase by leaps and bounds **and will seek for radical expression.** And this will not be confined to the period of the crisis. It is perhaps more reasonable to calculate that the crisis represents primarily a period of mental preparation of the workers for great struggles which will really get under way as the cycle turns toward economic revival.

If phrase-mongering "Left" demagogues have proved to be a disrupting force and a shielding of reaction in the first tentative manifestations of labor insurgency, then in the coming period they will confront the militant labor movement as the greatest menace. How to cope with this menace, how to defeat the attempt to derail the workers' revolt with the empty phrases of fake radicalism, how to strengthen the revolutionists as against the reformists—this is the crux of the problem.

One way to insure defeat is to adopt the ostrich policy of ultra-Left adventurism which the official party has pursued over a period of two years. The complete bankruptcy of these tactics has already been demonstrated. But an even more certain guarantee of failure would be the attitude toward the "progressive" reformists recommended and demonstated by the Lovestone Right wing—That is, of **fusion** with Muste and Co. The crudest expression of this policy is represented by Bert Miller who has gone over, bag and baggage, to the C. P. L. A. and is advertising it as the rallying center of the Left wing.

For **joining** the Muste organization he and his group have been expelled from the Lovestone faction, but at bottom their positions are identical. The conflict between them is more formal than real. The **Revolutionary Age** advocates a **bloc** with the C. P. L. A. "for the development of a progressive, a Leftward movement in the trade unions." And in doing so it **puts no conditions to the progressives,** it does not criticize and expose their actual rôle and warn the workers not to trust them. On the contrary it deliberately misleads the workers into the belief that the division of labor between "Right and "Left" in the C. P. L. A. is a conflict in principle, and it holds out the illusion of "a union of the Left forces in the C. P L. A. with the Communists in the building up of a Left wing movement in the trade unions". (See Gitlow's article in the Feb. 14th issue.)

Such a policy would deceive and disarm the Left wing workers. If Muste and other so-called "Lefts" can be expected to make **"a union"** with the Communists, why have they organized the C. P. L. A. as "a union" with the reactionaries against the Communists? Why did they support Fishwick and through him Lewis against the Left wing? Why did they support McMahon in the Textile field against the National Textile Workers' Union? Why did they expel Calhoun, the lone Communist or Communist sympathizer, from the faculty of Brookwood College? Was all of this—and much more of the same which could be mentioned—a preparation for "a union" with the Communists—an evidence of "good faith", so to speak. What is the difference between **joining** the C. P. L. A. while keeping silent about these damning facts and **making a bloc** with it while keeping just as silent? There is no serious difference.

At the very best it is the most naive conception of politics to represent, as Gitlow does in his article, that a united front between the Communists and the C. P. L. A. of itself "will hasten the schism between the reactionaries and progressives, the Left and the Right, in the C. P. L. A." Why should it? It is much more apt to hasten the "schism" between those who make such a united front and the standpoint of Communism. For this inference we already have the fate of Miller and his group to show. For the other inference **there is** nothing to show. And there can be nothing.

The united front, as Lenin taught it, is a means of mobilizing the masses and leading them in the direction of the revolution. It is not a "partnership" with reformists but a form of struggle against them. It does not mean to rely on them but to distrust them. Its value arises from the form in which it is proposed more than in actual agreements, and it is more **frequently** realized in that way, although agreements can and should be made at times. On this last point the "third period" strategy—which rejects **all** agreements with reformists is profoundly false and reduces the whole conception of the united front to a meaningless caricature.

From this point of view we think the Communists should **attack** the "progressive" menace to the awakening labor movement with the proposal of a united front on the concrete questions of the day. This proposal should be made openly and should contain certain **stipulations** and **demands** to be complied with before the agreement and as **a condition for the agreement.** One of these conditions—since we don t take anything on credit—should be the immediate "schism" with all elements tied to the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L. and the Black Hundreds in the needle trades, the Jewish Daily **Forward,** etc.

In making such a proposal for a united front the Communists should tell the workers plainly that the 'progressives" are not to be trusted and that a revolutionary program is the only program from which a real fighting policy in the daily struggle can flow. If the pressure of the workers for radical action is strong enough to compel the pseudo-progressive leaders, or a section on them, tc meet our conditions, we will make the agreement and go with them into a common struggle.

In the course of the struggle we, of course, will maintain our separate organization, drive them forward at every step and criticize every vacillation and weakness they manifest. We will conceive of it all the time as a temporary agreement which we are ready to break at any moment they betray their promises.

We know—as world-wide experience has demonstrated to the hilt — that most of them will betray. But if we have conducted ourselves properly from the start, allowed ourselves no illusions and created no illusions among the workers, the betrayal will weaken them and strengthen the party. Some of the leaders, and the majority of the workers, who started as progressives, will be swept along with us into the stream of Communism. Most of the present leaders of the Communist parties came through this door and they should be the last to deny that others can do the same.

The Lovestone opportunists regard the united front tactic as something that cannot be applied without an actual agreement of some kind with the reformists. That is why their principal activity consists in sniffing around the back door of some faker or other offering "blocs" which cost the fakers nothing. Witness the deal with Levy (read: Sigman) in the I. L. G. W. U. To mention little things with big ones, Weisbord also offered to "educate" us along this line.

That conception is wrong. It derives from Brandler, not from Lenin. The validity of the united front tactic does not at all depend upon formal agreements with reformists. It depends only on such a formulation of the demands and conditions that they are comprehensible to the workers as the necessary basis of struggle for their burning demands. The question whether the reformists accept the conditions does not depend on their wishes. They are weather-cocks. The decisive factor is the pressure of the masses. From this it follows that the most important aspect of the unitel front tactic is not "negociations" but widespread and intelligently-conducted agitation.

Under such circumstances the refusal of the reformists to agree to our proposals only serves to unmask them and to rob their demagogy of its power to influence the workers. On the other hand it provides the basis to extend and give point to our work among the masses for the practical program embodied in our united front proposals. We still appear before the workers as the advocates of the united front and the result, no less than in the case of a formal agreement, is to widen the mass movement and strengthen the influence of the Communists within it. And that is the real purpose, and the justification, of the policy of the united front.

Towards a Left Opposition Movement in Great Britain

LONDON.—

The revolt against the burcaucracy of inefficients which controls the C. P. in this country makes slow progress. The great difficulty with us, lacking a full time organizer, is to make contacts and to discuss the situation—with which thousands of good revolutionaries are disgusted—with Oppositionists in other parts of the country. Our greatest handicap is the lack of anything in the nature of your excellent paper.

However, everything has to have a beginning and we are helped by the fact that the tide is setting strongly in our favour. The party, under the present leadership, is regarded as a joke by its opponents and a tragic failure by its **would-be** friends.

Nothing is more certain at this time. when great masses of workers are in revolt against worsened conditions, against the "surrender" advice of their leaders, than that the party is helpless and hopeless—that if the workers are to be successful in the new wave of struggle it must be under the leadership of those who, although at present unorganized, will in the future constitute the Opposition in Great Britain.

Who are the C. P. bureaucrats who have brought the prestige of the party so low? And why has it happened?

Harry Pollitt is general secretary of the party. For years this comrade fought a good fight in the Boilermakers' Union, in the Labour Party, and, particularly, in the factory. His stock stood high among the workers, and because he was a good party member, working in the only way that Communists can work if the party and the working-class are to benefit to the greatest possible extent, the party gained in prestige and strength.

In the past few years, Pollitt's real revolutionary work decreased in proportion as the comforts of "work" at headquarters attracted him. Today the workers know him no more. He sits with the rest in a high chair at King Street, drafting manifestos and voluminous instructions which betray his present lack of understanding of the real needs of the workers, and which, because of their impossibilist nature, have helped to drive thousands of rank-and-file comrades out of the party in disgust, while repelling other thousands of potential members.

Pollitt is no whit worse than his colleagues in the bureaucracy. Will Gallacher, in the war years and the years immediately after, commanded a great following among the engineering and allied workers for his fine work on the Clyde. He became a serious challenger for the leadership of the Engineering Union.

Where does Gallacher stand today? True, he still works hard, but where once he was a leader of organized workers, his "following" now consists of a few unorganized workers whom he addressed at the street corner and in lecture halls. Without disparaging the work on the street corner, it must be obvious to all that work in the trade union movement is the more valuable.

Tom Bell and others also haunt King Street and an occasional street corner to the exclusion of trade union work. Years ago these comrades **mattered** among the organized workers. Today their names are unknown.

And so the party has suffered. Protests from a rank and file which has always been weak, and so much engrossed in serious work among the masses as to have no time for the problems at headquarters, have nevertheless often been utered—especially at district conferences—but these have all been "machined" over as ruthlessly as though they had been uttered in the Labour Party.

What is to be done? The machine is strong. It has the support of Stalin and the C. I.

But if the revolution is to live in Britain—unless Fascism is to gain the following of millions of disgusted and disheartened proletarians—the bureaucrats must be removed.

Under their control, the **Daily Worker,** which at this moment should have a circulation of 50,000, has in fact fewer than *5.000 subscribers and much fewer readers.* The party. which once certainly had 20,000 members exerting influence out of all proportion to its numbers, has now fewer than 500 active adherents.

This at a time when millions of workers are on the verge of struggle and when thousands of militants who might lead the struggle are helpless to do so because the party has become a joke and revolutionaries have no other organizations.

We have a big job. But we're getting on with it.

SPARTACUS.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Pressure of space compelled us to omit from this issue a considerable amount of timely material which will be included in the next issue of the **Militant.** The forthcoming number, therefore, will contain an article on the recent developments in the Soviet Union, the continuation of the article revealing the state of affairs in the Hungarian Benefit Society, the "Young Vanguard" page devoted to the problems of the working youth, in addition to many other articles on events of importance to the revolutionary and labor movements.

Dressmaker Strike Ends

On March 18, the **Daily Worker** published a brief official announcement that the New York dresmakers' strike called by the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union had been called off. As has become the custom in recent years with the incompetents foisted upon the Left wing movement, the statement makes no serious endeavor to sum up the results of the strike or to draw any intelligent conclusions from it. We have come to expect this light-hearted procedure which distinguishes the irresponsible and bureaucratic opportunists. The statement does say, however, that "the big general strike committee will be transformed into an organization committee to spread the Industrial Union throughout the industry". A more pitiful instance of bankruptcy in leadership and policy than this—so characteristic of the whole strike move—can scarcely be imagined. By its shamefaced silence, the statement tells an eloquent story of defeat and the policy of the party and union leadership which was calculated to guarantee this defeat in advance.

Prior to the actual calling of the strike, the leadership of the Industrial Union adopted a position which was calculated to rob the strike of its immediate interest and concern to the workers—hours, wages, conditions—the party leadership of the Union proceeded to drop all these demands. It virtually confined the strike to the demand for "recognition of the Union". In other words, the strike was to be conducted along precisely those lines of business-agent unionism which Johnstone, Foster, Potash and Company had so virtuously condemned as corrupt "Lovestoneism" in their "exposures" of almost a year ago.

As soon as this thoroughly false plan was adopted, the Left Opposition, through the columns of the **Militant,** declared:

"If it is proopsed to call a strike merely for 'recognition'—the strike will be devoid of its real objective, for which the party bureaucrats will bear the full responsibility. Rather than such a 'strike' we propose that the present strike committee be transformed into an ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITTEE with a campaign worked out to lay the ground solidly for a real strike in the future. These are the proposals which the Left wing as a whole must adopt." (**Militant,** No. 62.)

Unfortunately, these proposals of the Opposition were not adopted. Ill-prepared in general, its organization weakened, the membership robbed of their natural enthusiasm by a previous destructive course, and, on top of that, the devitalizing of the strike demands, the Union entered the strike with the odds heavily against it. For the results, as we declared, the "party bureaucrats bear the full responsibility".

It is hardly necessary to elaborate here upon the vain misrepresentation and journalistic sensationalism of the official party press during the strike. The policy of lying about successes that are non-existent, about victories that are defeats, about gains that are losses, has progressively deprived the Stalinist press of any standing for truth in the eyes of the advanced workers. Certain it is that the bulk of the needle trades workers were not deceived by the boastful headlines and stories in the **Daily Worker** and **Freiheit** which announced "new shops" and "new thousands of workers" on strike every day. The needle trades workers—if nobody else—knew quite well that the strike, carried on as it was, brought out not the 8,000-10,000 "estimated" by the party press, but rather between 2,000-3,000 workers. No dressmakers' strike could be conducted in New York today with so feeble a response.

The situation would undoubtedly have been a much happier one had the party and the Union, which is under its leadership, pursued a policy that would draw closer to the Left wing the thousands of workers organized by the Right wing union and the even greater thousands of workers who are outside of either union. But the recent past, in which the arch-stupid theory of "social fascism" prevailed—the theory which puts every worker outside of the party and Left wing into the camp of fascism—could not pass by without inflicting the greatest punishment upon the Left wing and serving as grist to the mill of the labor lieutenants of capitalism.

The payment which the Left wing had to make for the obstinate comedy of errors of the Stalinists has been the alienation of the non-Communist workers. And the payment has not yet been made in full.

The party leaders have not acknowledged the strike results for what they are: a defeat, a new blow at the Left wing. Without such a recognition, the past will be repeated, that is, no progress at all will be made. We can easily understand why the Fosters, Stachels, Amters and brethren are averse to undertaking a serious review of the strike policy, and even more, of the whole policy of the party, particularly in the trade union field: the result of such an investigation could only be murderous for them and their positions. But that is precisely why the Left wing and Communist workers as a whole **must** undertake such an examination.

But such a review is "legally prohibited" by Stalinism. At the party fraction, following the strike, Phil Aronberg proposed an elaborate discussion of the whole affair, with the provision that everybody present should be given the opportunity to criticize any and all features of the strike policy. Naturally, such a proposal found an immediate echo among the comrades, for it could only produce fruitful results. But they reckoned without their host, this time in the person of Amter, the party district organizer, who put the bureaucratic heel down upon the suggestion by announcing that there was no need for such a discussion because the "comrades have faith in their leadership and its policies." After such an arbitrary and contemptible ruling, there was, of course, no discussion. Even Aronberg refused to take the floor. And the results of this failure to adopt the proposals of the Opposition for the strike, and our proposals for an open and honest discussion in the party? The results are a greater passivity among the Left wing workers. discouragement, cynicism,—and the loss of numerical support and prestige for the Left wing as a whole.

The discussion which the Amters fear and prohibit must nevertheless be conducted, for the life of the movement is involved. If it is not done within strictly party channels, it must be done elsewhere. The **Militant** will serve as a forum. We shall therefore return to this question in the coming issue.—S. J.

Los Angeles' «Radical» S.P.

LOS ANGELES, Calif.—

"Permit or no permit, we are going to parade."

"They can't stop us from marching to the city hall."

"The cop who wields the first club makes history."

The above are characteristic statements made by William Busick, chairman of the executive board of the Socialist party of California, to 3,000 unemployed workers in the socialist-controlled unemployed conference. These words were greeted by the hungry workers with enthusiasm.

The city council, however, refused the permit and Busick, the bombastic, promptly changed his tune and urged the workers

" . . . to accept defeat . . . and march to the polls, and use our organization as a power for law, order and the return of constitutional government."

This, I think, is the premier attempt of the socialists to use the unemployed, and deserves careful attention and analysis by every worker. As the crisis drives deeper, the misery of the workers increases and similar socialist activity will appear elsewhere.

A number of questions spring to our mind. How come that the Socialist party is organizing 3,000 workers in three weeks, while the T. U. U. L. has not even one-tenth that number after 18 months of effort? Why were the socialists refused a permit to parade? Why were the rank and file so docile in the face of betrayal?

The reason the socialists succeeded in rallying the unemployed where the Left wing has failed is that the socialists had never attempted to do anything in the situation. They were a last hope.

The Communists had been tried by the workers and found wanting. The hungry workers looked to the Left wing to lead them to bread, they were led instead in unsuccessful demonstrations.

With each demonstration for the last ten months the futility of following the present leadership of the Left wing becomes more and more apparent and the disappointment of the masses in the leadership of the Left wing is shown in the constantly decreasing number attending the demonstrations. The Socialist party, an untried factor, entered the situation and a staunch and determined mass fell into line behind it. The workers discouraged in the would-be leaders of the T. U. U. L. fall easy prey to glib charlatans.

Why were the socialists refused a permit to parade? The answer is to be found with the Communists. The Communist-led councils have never been able to develop into a real force for the struggle against misery and the city council felt that the danger from this source was not great enough for the socialists to enter as lightning reds to detract the masses from militant action. They felt that the hungry, as led by the Communists, could as yet be met with gun, bomb and club.

Chief of Police Steckel, in a burst of candor stated: "If your parade is going ahead against the wishes of the city council some of your people will be killed. We have to take steps to protect constituted authority."

("Constituted authority and government," it may be remarked, has an unbroken line of defense reaching from Steckel to "Red" Hynes, to Busick.)

For his eagerness to serve the powers that be by disrupting the movement (the "socialist" demonstration was called for February 6, four days before the previously announcement T. U. U. L. demonstration), Busick received a sound drubbing.

Had there been sufficient pressure from the rank and file, pressure of a sort that only the Left wing could generate, possibly Mr. Busick would have carried out his threat in spite of his masters' opinions. That Left wing was absent, had no contact with this mass of eager material and Busick was left to carry out his betrayal unhindered. This is the reason the masses took this betrayal so docilely.

The sheer helplessness of the official leadership of the Communist party in this situation is obvious. It is due to two causes.

1. The putsch-like ordering of demonstrations. Demonstration has followed demonstration but from each one, from each attempt to reach the city hall, the workers have returned without work and without wages. With the decline of the workers' support, the brutality of the police has grown and recent demonstrations have become ultra-Leftism personified; the gathering of a few Left wing workers, the shouting of a few slogans, the raising of a few banners, the scattering of a few leaflets and a windup of bomb and billy. The situation demands a digging in, organizational work and flexibility of tactics that will make our demonstrations assemblages of strength and not of weakness.

2. The second factor that prevents us from being effective is the absolute rejection of the united front tactic by the Stalinists. An appeal to the unemployed workers in the socialist council for joint action between them and us would have had and can still have telling effects. Busick would oppose the united front but with the cry of solidarity we could expose Busick as an agent of the bosses and establish contact with the rank and file.

Another tragi-comedy is that those who in the "second period" were quite willing to make a united front with any faker, in the "third period" can see no distinction between the misleaders and the misled, and hold that a united front with the socialist unemployed conference would be the same as a united front with the socialist misleaders. It goes without saying that Busick and his ilk should be severely criticized by the Left wing in any united front.

By the way, the "third and last period of post-war capitalism" that was repeated in every paragraph of the **Daily Worker,** and with which every unit literature agent opened his report has, of late, been making but shy appearances few and far between. Explain, Jorge!

The ultimate source of the poison that is making our movement impotent is to be found in the tactics of the revisionist Centrists. Only by a return of the movement to the Marxist-Leninist course pointed out by the Left Opposition can our movement be rendered healthy again.

—CHARLES CURTISS

The Agrarian Congress in Puebla

A state agrarian congress was held in Puebla, Mexico, from February 1st to 4th. The whole affair was very carefully organized by those sponsoring it and its petty bourgeois character was clearly distinguishable from the first speech to the last.

Governor Leonidas Andreau Almazan, governor of the state of Puebla, presided at the opening session, and numerous other bourgeois politicians were present including Governor Adalberto Tejeda of Vera Cruz, the governor of Guanajuato, representatives of the governors of the states of Yucatan, San Luis Potosi and Tlaxcala, and a host of senators, deputies and petty politicians of all colors from the "pink revolutionists" to the blackest reactionaries. The national anthem was sung by the 1,500 delegations present and every one received food and lodging during the period of the congress at the expense of Governor Almazan. In short, for those of us who have a bit of a memory, it appears to have been very similar to any number of former Mexican agrarian congresses, in which during the "Kuo Min Tang" period of the Mexican movement, the Communist party collaborated with Tejeda, Portes Gil and others, in the "organization of the peasantry".

In the Puebla congress, the closest collaboration was to be noted between the "Left" petty bourgeois politicians (Tejeda, Almazon, Cedilla) and all of the closest henchmen of the late Galvan, our party's kulak- "Communist" leader of former times. Among the "Galvanites" present in the rôle of collaborators of Almazan, Tepeda and Co. were Carolino Anaya, Isaac Fernandez, Juan Jacobo Torres, Vargas Rea, Enrique Flores Magon (Martinez) and Celso Cepeda. Another "Galvanite", Julio Cuadros, was elected president of the congress. Also present, having already definitely abandoned the ranks of Communism, were several ex-Right wingers of the Mexican Communist Party including German List Arizubide, Raul Argudin, and Luis G. Monzon, all of whom treated the assemblage to a barrage of liberal "revolutionism" in the form of speeches.

The congress accomplished absolutely nothing for the poor peasants. Why should it? That is not why it was called together. A reunion of this nature can only serve the political interests of those that organize it, and is consequently unable to be of any aid to the poor **ejidatarians** and landless peasants. The whole affair had the aspect of a comical dramatic sketch in which many of the most outstanding political representatives of the opposition petty bourgeoisie appeared as actors, the peasant delegates being nothing but bored spectators waiting for the curtain to ring down and the barbecue to be served. There was not, as in the Vera Cruz state agrarian congress, celebrated in Jalapa at the end of October, any Communist fraction whatsoever. The voice of our party was heard only through the leaflets distributed among the peasant delegates by outsiders having nothing to do with the meeting.

Several very pertinent questions suggest themselves to us at this time. What has happened to the dozens of agrarian communities in divers parts of the state, where our party is supposed to have had such extensive influence and "control"? Where are the thousands of peasants of Atlixco and other sections of the state, who supported the "Workers and Peasants Bloc" in the last presidential elections? Let the party leaders explain why there was no Communist fraction at the Puebla state agrarian congress if, as they shout from the housetops, the party is now so much stronger, more consolidated and more steadfast than ever before.

The Puebla congress represented a new step on the part of the "Left" elements of the petty bourgeoisie to fortify their positions, increasing their pressure in this way on the federal government. These "Left" elements with their promises and their demagogy will utilize the peasants as cannon fodder in their attempt to seize power. All that was dealt with in the congress concerning the armament of the peasants, the democratization of the army and the continuation of the agrarian reform, is something more than simple demagogy to fool the peasants. It indicates the determination of Tejeda, Almazan and Co. to carry the struggle to other fields when the opportune moment arrives. The rôle of the Communists in the coming struggle between the two bourgeois factions is a question deserving of the most profound attention and study.

In its manifesto of February 25, 1930, the central committee of our party affirmed in the most cock-sure manner, that Ortiz Rubio would succeed in uniting the whole of the bourgeoisie, the large landowners of both the new and the old régimes, into a single counter-revolutionary bloc, establishing a complete "fascist state" in the service of American imperialism. This analysis was completely false. Our "theoreticians" forgot the whole series of internal contradictions within the national bourgeoisie, and underestimated the remaining strength of British imperialism. In November 1930, however, after the Jalapa agrarian congress at which Tajeda-Almazan showed their teeth to the ruling faction of Ortiz Rubio, the leadership of our party changed its analysis again and decided on an independent armed insurrection simultaneous with the outbreak of hostilities between the bourgeois factions. According to the statement of one of the Mexican Party leaders himself (**The Communist,** March 1931) it was a speech of Manuilsky given in Moscow that gave the first inkling to the Mexican Party leadership that perhaps a putsch wasn't quite the thing yet. The "third period" is kicking its last and the poor third periodites of the smaller parties of the Comintern are just beginning to find this out.

What is necessary now in order to assure the party of the best utilization of the developing situation in Mexico, is a real Leninist analysis of the whole situation in which Mexican realities are considered in relation to the world economy in general. Without such a correct policy we will be certain to repeat the blunders and failures of March 1929. —RUSSELL BLACKWELL.

The European Grain Meet

The American Big Stick Succeeds in Disrupting the Conference

A number of months ago, Aristide Briand announced that definite steps had been taken to insure the birth of a United States of Europe. On February 28, we read of the results of the first attempt—alas! it was a miscarriage, a miscarriage caused by what in time may be recognized as the midwife of "European consternation", the United States.

We refer to the recently concluded "Turopean Grain Parley" held at Paris on February 25-28. At the time Briand advanced his theory of an All-European Union, it was recognized by all that the major consideration would have to be economic co-operation. Political unity, yes, but only through economic cooperation. Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, of the German Reichsbank, writing for the **Yale Review** Winter 1931) has the following to say in regard to Briand's plan:

"It was interesting to notice that at the recent session of the League of Nations Assembly, the mere political approach to the Pan-European problem made by France was supported by almost nobody. But the economic side of the problem was emphasized by spokesmen of several of the smaller nations. The Austrian Chancellor, Mr. Schober, declared that the first move to a European Federal Union must be made in the economic sphere and that in his opinion the most practical method immediately possible was to attempt to bring about economic agreements among the countries involved." The economic problem first to be solved through the Pan-European plan was the grain problem.

"Too Much Wheat"

The major item under the question of grain is of course wheat. A few lines would be proper to indicate the type of problem the conference attempted to solve. To state the matter briefly, the world has "too much wheat", discounting all rumors of starving millions in the cities. And of course directly linked up with the question of a great over-production is that of a drop in price.

The wheat producing industry is like all others, being torn between the vice of a discrepancy between capacity for production and capacity for consumption. Even though actual production is much below the capacity for it (with the Farm Board of the U. S. still agitating for smaller acreages), "the wheat year statistically was characterized by an excess of supplies over needs." (**Annalist,** November 16, 1930.) The world is divided between what are termed wheat-exporting an wheat-importing countries, the major wheat-exporting countries being the United States, Argentina, Australia, Canada, and now once more the Soviet Union. The price of wheat and the general condition of the market is determined on a world scale. This of course means that what is most importat is the difference between the quantities exportable and those needed by wheat-importing countries. The total world production of wheat for 41 countries representing 96 percent of the world's wheat crop outside of Russia and China, compared as follows (**Crops and Markets,** January 1931):

1929.....3,348,154,000 bushels
1930.....3,649,656,000 bushels

Thus we see that there was an increase of 9 percent in world production in 1930 over 1929. Were Russia to be included in the totals, the final increase would undoubtedly be much larger than 9 percent. In connection with the above, we must remember that there was being held in storehouses what is technically known as a carry-over of over 418,000,000 bushels. Looked at from the point of view of exports and imports there was available during 1930 **(Annalist)**

for export.....1,678,000,000 bushels
for import..... 820,000,000 bushels

In simple language this means that for every bushel that a country like England needed there were available two bushels. The above condition could result in only one thing: an enormous drop in price, which did take place.

The Price Decline

From the **Crops and Markets** report of the Department of Commerce, we see a gradual drop in the price paid to the American farmer for a bushel of wheat:

December 1929.....	108.1
March 1930.....	91.9
June 1930.....	87.9
September 1930.....	70.3
November 1930	60.0
December 1930.....	61.3
Average 1929.....	105.1
Average 1930.....	60.8

The above gives one an idea of the problem tackled by the Grain Conference. Stabization of the price, and in regard to the ove, the problem is even greater than that icated by the figures for the United tes. The price of wheat in the U. S. has been artifically held much above that of the world market, with the aid of the tariff. Thus, while December wheat in 1931 was selling on the market in Chicago at 76 cents, in Winnipeg, the same wheat was quoted at 54 cents. To repeat, the Grain Parley set itself the task of first stabilizing the price and at the same time distributing the world surplus.

The solving of the grain problem was to be its immediate purpose. But in addition to this, or rather superseding this, it was to serve as the first step in the Pan-Europa scheme. Discussing the conference, **The Business Week** (March 4, 1931), has the following to say:

"That is why Briand, in opening the meeting, called it the first real test of the idea of European solidarity which he has been fostering for the past year. If it is successful, it may not only have immediate practical effects on the European market, for American products, but it will be a long step toward realization of the French scheme for a United States of Europe as a political and economic counterweight to the United States." The Pan-European movement of Briand was, in the words of one of the Latin American representatives to the League of Nations "to have as its underlying policy the desire to free Europe from the present economic imperialism of North America" (i. e., the U. S.).

The countries have their places on the board. The moves are not such as are easily analyzed. Europe is fighting for its life, economically speaking. Europe feels the necessity of a united face against its North American opponent. Cooperation among competitors, however, cannot be easily achieved. Germany takes a step towards France, then looks coyly towards Wall Street. Italy is also kept busy racing between Paris and New York City. More than ever are Trotsky's words, written in 1928, true today: "In a critical epoch the hegemony of the United States will prove even more complete, more open, more ruthless than in the period of boom . . . The United States will try to overcome and get out of its difficulties and helplessness primarily at the expense of Europe." Written over two years ago, we see the correctness of the prognosis every day.

As a first move in his general economic, and later, political unity plan, Briand called together twenty-four European countries. On February 26, they met for a two-day session in Paris. On February 27, the second day of the conference, a bombshell was thrown into the meeting. The U. S. Farm Board announced its intention of selling 35,000,000 bushels of wheat in the European market. A vivid account of the reception this news met with can be seen from the report of the Paris correspondent of the New York **Times** (February 27):

"A feeling closely akin to consternation developed in the European grain conference late this afternoon when it was learned that the United States Farm Board has decided to sell 35,000,000 bushels of wheat in continental markets at a price considerably below that maintained at home . . . Some of the delegates hesitated to believe the American government would."

The feeling of "consternation" soon changed to one of "sound business". In the same report we read: "Good will has not been lacking, but in the words of one delegate, 'Business is business and importing countries cannot be expected to buy wheat at higher prices just to further the theory of European Union'."

Talk of a future grain parley is taken with very little enthusiasm. The United States government, according to an announcement in the **Times** (March 9) declined to attend future conferences "the reason being that this government does not consider that an international wheat conference at this time would accomplish anything of value to American producers". The market is taking on a runaway character, particularly considering the fact that "there is no guarantee that the American marketings might not exceed the quantity mentioned" (the Farm Board has a total estimated holding of over 200,000,000 bushels of wheat).

The United States has made its move and it was certainly done in a "ruthless manner". Faced by a falling profit at home, the United States among other methods for keeping its total profit up, has taken this step of continuing to "put Europe on rations". The results of such a policy are best summed up in these words: The repercussions of this policy will be heard in Europe in the deeper rumblings of the crisis and the hastening of many revolutionary upheavals, Wall Street has become the "organizer of revolt."

—H. S.

«SUSTAINED PROSPERITY»

Like Ponce de Leon, who sought in vain the fountain of youth, the economists of capitalism—the professional apologists for the prevailing system of exploitation—seek likewise for permanent or sustained prosperity. And while the fruits of their wisdom are so useful scientifically as alchemy in an age of poison gas, their performance reminds one of a dog chasing his tail. During the period when the alleged prosperity was surfeiting the broadest circles of the parastic ruling class (they're not exactly starving now, either, in bacchanalism and luxury — and grinding down the nerves and muscles of the working class—the capitalist ideologists were sounding the heavens with their paeans of praise for the unsurpassable system of individual initiative. But now confronted with the stark reality of the crisis, the discontent of the unemployed and starving workers as well as the hard-hit sections of petty-bourgeoisie, they grope mystically for the elusive formulae which will create the unattainable sustained prosperity.

Thus, four ardent defenders of capitalism, authorities, men outstandingly competent, we are informed, to identify "the fundamentals of sustained prosperity" divulged the mysteries at a dinner of the Economic Club in Hotel Astor recently. Each one of the wise men had his own particular prescription for the sustained prosperity, but in common, as the reporter of the **New York Times** puts it, "they agreed simply on generalities of the present situation, such as that it is a cure for unemployment to put men to work." Surely, they cannot be reproached for lack of simplicity in their common solution! But in their individual panaceas they supplemented this simplicity with the profundity of an Einstein.

Magnus W. Alexander, consulting engineer for the General Electric Company and chairman of the National Industrial Conference Board, thought that what this country needs is a change in the anti-trust laws —bigger and better trusts; deplored purchases on the instalment plan; ano adduced sound advice such as: don't overproduce, don't overspend, don't oversave, don't ignore the law of reason in economic activities! If only our leaders of finance and industry would follow the advice of Mr. Alexander! And especially if they retained their reason, which it seems deserted then a long time ago—and forever.

Alexander D. Noyes, financial editor of the **New York Times,** also spoke warningly about instalment purchases. In regard to stabilizing prosperity he spoke of "the restraining, if not the abolishing of the extravagant 'booms' in trade and on the stock market which precede and precipitate the hard times." There you have a solution in a nutshell! Hard times are precipitated by good times. In order to avoid precipiting hard times let us abolish good times altogether!

William T. Foster, director of the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research, disagreed with both the preceding speakers. He thought that what this country needs is increased consumption. "One of the fundamentals of sustained prosperity," Mr. Foster said, "is the making and selling of more and more of the so-called luxuries." Righto! There was always lurking in the minds of all workers the suspicion that the reason this country isn't prosperous was that each one of them didn't possess a Rolls-Royce, a house of his own, a Stromberg-Carlson, a yacht and several other small luxuries. All workers should retrieve this mistake immediately and attain sustained prosperity.

But for the solution par excellence we must listen to George E. Roberts, vice president of the National City Bank. His program is so realistic and practical that it is being applied unhesitatingly by the capitalists of the country. This hard-headed financier of Wall Street said: "The war caused an enormous demand for man-power, foodstuffs and many raw materials, resulting in a general rise of wages and prices. Now in the great fall of prices which has occurred since the war, and particularly in the last year, prices and wages have not all come down together. Wages do not move readily at any rate downward." The conclusion is clear: Slash wages! Reduce lower and lower the workers' standard of living! Load the burdens on the backs of the workers, and there will be sustained prosperity—the workers sustaining on their backs the prosperous oppressors. Such is the real solution of capitalism for "sustained prosperity". All the rest is mere prattle.

—GEORGE RAY.

Communist Tasks and the Workmens Circle

(NOTE: The contribution which follows was made by a sympathizer of the Left Opposition who is an active militant in the Workmen's Circle. It is published as a discussion article on a subject of considerable importance to the Communist and Left wing movement and we invite all workers active in the field which comrade J. B. discusses to send in their opinions for publication.—Ed.)

History repeats itself. Again we pose the question: What are the tasks of the Communists in the fraternal organizations? Will it not sound ridiculous to some comrades? Yes, but only to those that have been so blind or asleep as not to notice the violent convulsions the Communist movement has gone through, especially since the ultra-Left turn due to the birth of the theory of the "third period" by the "great theoretican" of our time, comrade Molotov.

The task of the Communists, as formulated by Marx and Engels, is: to give a revolutionary consciousness to the struggles of the working class. How can this be accomplished? The present leadership of the Comintern wants to accomplish it by the S. L. P. method, i. e., by building "real" revolutionary unions and fraternal organizations overnight. The Right wing (Lovestoneites) are for going back to the organizations which they left because of "unity", and with the Right wing, unity is above everything now.

Instead of trying to gain the hegemony over the working masses by activity, participation in the daily struggles of the masses the "greatest pupil" of Lenin has introduced the system of mechanical control and, in order to gain this end, a system of lies, deception and all other tricks of corrupt politicians. He found fertile soil for it between his protegés in the U. S. A. of the Lovestone and Foster types.

How did that affect the work in the Workmen's Circle and other fraternal organizations? Before answering this question it is advisable to say a few words about the leadership that was put at the helm of this activity. This leadership consisted mostly of those that came to the Communist movement after the second split and as long as there was a semblance of discussion on theoretical questions they did not find themselves at home. Their intellectual poverty was astonishing, but they had gone through the school of the S. P. and the **Forward** politics and learned all the "tricks of the trade".

With the introduction of the "new" Leninism, the situation became more bearable for these people. Since then, it has been easy sailing. Their platform has become "loyalty" and the group of Saltzman, Siegel, Pollack, Costrell, Sultan, etc., have become the greatest leaders of the Communist movement in the fraternal organizations. And they are well qualified for the work. The tricks they brought with them have become their "stock in trade". The issues of corruption and honest elections obscured every other issue. Is it any wonder that we have been losing ground in the W. C.? See the difference between the delegation of 1925 at the convention in New Star Casino where we had 225 delegates and the following conventions.

The situation became hopeless for these people. They could show no results but loss of ground and were desperate.

But lo! All of a sudden we heard the playing of trumpets. What happened? What was all this noise about? It was to herald the arrival of the "the third period" We are on the threshold of the social revolution! We have entered into the revolutionary situation "with both of our feet" (Molotov), etc., etc.

Of course, with the arrival of the revolutionary period, the army has to be reorganized; the tactics must be changed and overhead goes everything that is still left of Leninism. A Council of War is called (in which Lovestone and his protegé, B. Lifschitz, participated and concurred in the decisions, but after their expulsion from the party, changed front overnight), and the call is sent out to withdraw the army from the enemy's territory and declare every worker not answering the call a traitor, a social-fascist and what-not. This was met with a sigh of relief by the above-mentioned leadership. This was a wonderful chance to cover up their political bankruptcy and simplify the work by just indulging in self-praise and declaring themselves the advance guard, etc.

(To be continued)

OPPOSITION LECTURE AT BROOKWOOD

Max Shachtman, editor of the **Militant,** will speak before the student body of the Brookwood Labor College on Friday, April 24, 1931. The subject of his lecture will be the Program of the Left Opposition.

Expansion Program Headway

Our Program of Expansion is on the way. The results so far are very gratifying and testify to the vitality of the Left Communist Opposition movement.

Its central object is, of course, the one of building and strengthening this movement. In substance, it provides the organizational measures of progress intended for coordination with our advance in a political sense.

Are we making any such advance? Undoubtedly everyone of our comrades and supporters can notice a perceptible upward turn in several respects. General political steps taken cannot, of course, be disassociated or considered separately from organizational ones and certainly not within the Communist movement having a definite political object and requiring an organization to carry it into life. Therefore we may start in recording an advance on the basis of a very healthy increase in the activities of our various branches. There are definite reasons for this. First, there is a growth of opportunities in the slowly rising activity of the working class. Our numbers are gradually increasing and several of our branches have been better consolidated. But above all there is the strengthened conviction of our membership as to the correctness of the position which we have taken. Proofs of this correctness, are multiplying daily in the experiences of the class struggle. Gradually we are also succeeding better in carrying our plaltform into life in the sense that in its every day application, we translate it more firmly into a positive position for our movement. We are not merely Oppositionist critics but learning step by step to give our Left Communist views concrete form and make them stand out more clearly against those of the revisionists.

The unemployment question, for example, which is now the most important one before the working class, is also one in which we have succeeded to make a commendable beginning toward presenting an objective revolutionary estimate of the situation. This has enabled us to draw definite conclusions for the road which the Communist movement as a whole will have to follow if it is at all to fulfill its historic tasks. While the official party may reject these definite views today it will not be able to do so tomorrow.

Just by way of another example we may mention the article in this very issue dealing with present developments in the Illinois mine fields. It contains definite proposals made by our National Committee to the miners' Left wing union movement for a correct attitude towards these developments and for the necessary conclusions which must flow therefrom. This makes one more advance in translating our platform into real life. Organizational steps must not only keep progress with such advances but must by all means proceed in the same tempo. On this side of the ledger, in addition to the increased activity displayed by our branches, we may again remind our comrades of the progress made in our literature publication. Today we have the following pamphlets by Trotsky already in circulation: The Program Criticism—The Strategy of the World Revolution—The Turn in the Communist International and the German Situation—World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan—The Spanish Revolution—Communism and Syndicalism. In preparation we have "The Permanent Revolution". All of this is splendid revolutionary propaganda material distined to become the future text books of the revolutionary movement alongside of the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The completest possible harmony between the tempo of political advance and organizational progress is essential and in this lies the significace of our Program of Expansion. Each step contemplated becomes one of additional strength. We will just repeat again these steps. First, the organization of the publishing company, secondly the weekly publication of the **Militant,** thirdly the second National Conference of our League, and fourthly the strengthening of the staff and the publication of a theoretical monthly.

The organization of the publishing company will naturally mean much greater extension of our propaganda possibilities. It will facilitate both the publication of more Marxian literature as well as extend its avenues for circulation. But this, important as it is, will be small compared with the next step to follow, the establishment of the **Militant** permanently on a weekly basis. Through a weekly paper we can so much more seriously think of becoming a factor in the general working class movement and wield actual influence with our views. A weekly **Militant,** reflecting our platform in every day life, becoming a guide in struggles and speaking regularly to the workers; this, together with an actually functioning organization will spell real advance and simultaneously lay the foundation for yet bigger tasks.

Our second National Conference is to be held soon. Our National Committee is preparing the theses and preparing for the discussion to take place. For us preparations of such theses do not mean **merely** to arrive at formulations of problems and tasks to be used for quotation purposes or to be scrapped when the whims of a new turn arrive. We expect our theses particular to supplement our platform in the sense of drawing the necessary conclusions from developments since it was written. We expect them to be a means of greater clarity within our own ranks and to give concrete direction to the working class movement. Our second conference, the third step of our Program of Expansion, should on this basis again record a further advance. From this, the necessity of reaching the fourth step, the building and strengthening of a functioning staff, and the publication of a theoretical monthly, become perfectly obvious.

To recapitulate: The greatest significance in our Program of Expansion, we believe, lies in the fact that it becomes a means of coordinating the necessary organizational progress with political development and advance. Its fulfillment means talking in dollars and cents. From the reports elsewhere in this issue our readers will notice that we are well on the way to making the first hurdle but as soon as it is made we will hope to advance yet faster to the second and third and on to the completion of the program.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUG 24, 1912.

Of The Militant, published twice a month at New York, N. Y. for April 1, 1931.

State of New York:

County of New York.

Before me, a Notary in and for the State and county aforesaid personally appeared Max Shachtman, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of the Militant and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shwn in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business managers are:

Publisher: Communist League of America (Opposition) 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y.

Editor: None.

Managing Editor: Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., N. Y.

Business Manager: Rose Karsner, 84 East 10th St., New York City.

2. That the owner is: Communist League of America (Opposition)., 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. J. P. Cannon, 84 East 10th St., N Y. C. Max Shachtman, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Maurice Spector, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C. Arne Swabeck, 84 East 10th St., N. Y. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owing or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securites are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stock-holders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation. the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirects in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Max Shachtman, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of March 1931.

Geo. Lorch, Notary Public.

(My Commission expires March 30, 1931.)

WATCH YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NUMBER!

This issue of **The Militant** is No. **66** If the number on your wrapper is less than 66, you should send in your renewal. All expirations are cut off the mailing list unless the renewal is received before the next issue goes to press.

THE MILITANT,
84 East 10th St.,
New York City

Enclosed please find $.....for..... renewal

NAME .....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ..... STATE .....

- Organization Notes -

The Sub Drive

FOR 500 NEW SUBSCRIBERS AND RENEWALS

The Militant does not scare you with screeching headlines about the "danger of suspension" unless you do thus and thus and thus.

This does not mean however that **The Militant** comes out of magic. Only YOUR CO-OPERATION makes it possible.

The National Executive Committee has followed the policy of working within the limits of the possibilities of the organization. Forward steps have been taken when it was felt that the membership and sympathizers in the field were ready for them.

A review of the organization for the past two and a half years shows a positive, steady, solid growth—even if a slow one. YOUR CO-OPERATION made it possible.

Now, we have reached a point where we feel confident that the circulation of **The Militant** can be substantially increased. YOUR CO-OPERATION is needed.

WILL YOU HELP?
IF YOU ARE A READER OF THE MILITANT — SUBSCRIBE!
IF YOU ARE A SUBSCRIBER—GET ONE NEW SUBSCRIBER!
IF YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS EXPIRED — RENEW!

Thus far we have received only 31 new subscriptions and renewals. They came from the following branches: New York—8; Chicago — 8; Minneapolis — 8; Boston—2; Cleveland—1; St. Louis—1; Misce laneous —3. This is a slow beginning but we feel sure that the next report will be much bigger.

Rebecca Sacharow of the Chicago Branch leads with individual results. If comrade Sacharow continues to send in the subscriptions as fast as she has up to now, she will soon be entitled to the prize of "My Life" by L. Trotsky.

SPECIAL OFFERS

To stimulate the drive for 500 new subscriptions and renewals, we are making the following special offers, good only for the duration of the drive.

With every 1 year sub. for $2.00
FREE—either one of the following Trotsky pamphlets:
Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International.
Strategy of the World Revolution or Since Lenin Died by Max Eastman

With every 6 mos. sub. for $1.00
FREE—any of the following Trotsky pamphlets:
World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan
Communism and Syndicalism
The Revolution in Spain

Trial subs.—3 months for 25c

With 5 yearly subs.—$10.00
FREE—1 copy of Trotsky's **My Life**

With 3 yearly subs.—$6.00
FREE—1 bound volume of **The Militant** for 2 and a half years.

With 3 yearly subs. $6.00
FREE—1 colorful beaded watch fob, made by comrade Malkin while in prison.

THE SYMBOL MUST BE PROTECTED!

Mahatma Gandhi, who recently quit the Lovestone group to join hands with MacDonald, is having an exceedingly uncomfortable time of it in India. Despite the fact that Lovestone announced a while ago that Gandhi was the "symbol of the revolution" in India, there seems to be a large number of Indian revolutionists who, according to press dispatches, are violently opposing the treasonable pact between Gandhi and Britain. At Karachi, Gandhi almost had his skull laid open. It appears to us that for the sake of Auld Lang Syne, and for the bodily protection of the "symbol of the revolution", the Lovestone group should have the decency to send, let us say, Ben Gitlow to India as Gandhi's bodyguard. It is true that Gitlow has an overpowering inclination to being kidnapped from time to time, but we feel that even this danger should be risked to protect a so much abused "symbol"

Expansion Program

Since our last report of progress on our Program of Expansion we have received further definite word from various braches, The Minneapolis branch definitely pledges to raise $500.00. The Boston branch pledges $100.00. Two of our small branches, one in Montreal, Canada and the other in New Haven, Conn., pledged one certificate per number. The Chicago branch estimates that it will be able to raise about $2.00.00 its first definite pledge amounting to about $35.00.

The Boston Branch has forwarded $25 as the first installment on this pledge. From the Kansas City Branch we have received $50 as a first contribution to further the program.

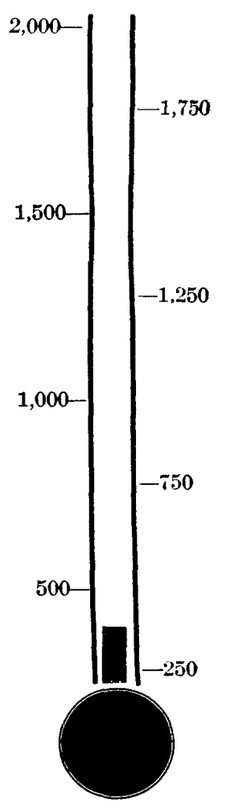
During the last two weeks we have been circularizing a number of sympathizers and supporters endeavoring to explain just what we have in mind with our program of expansion and asking for their support. It is yet too early to expect definite replies but past experience leads us to believe that the appeal to such comrades will bring results. However, there are many more such supporters throughout the country who may not be on our mailing list. It is therefore important that our comrades, where we have branches, make a canvass of their city and bring this program before sympathetic elements and follow up with a planned campaign asking for definite support.

From the National Office we are following up to carry out our part of the program. The formal launching of the publishing company only awaits the completion of the first $500 contribution, all the preparatory arrangements being ready.

Contributions received since the last report are as follows:

ROLL CALL ON THE PROGRAM OF EXPANSION

G. Saul	$ 1
G. Clarke	4
Glotzer	5
Lewitt	5
H Stone	25
Gutringer	4
Friedman	2
Sterling	5
Swabeck	10
Berensmeyer	10
M. Fisher	10
Anonymous	1
Boston branch	25
Kansas City Branch	50
	157.00
Previously reported	189.00
Total to date	$346.00



What Has Happened in Ill.?

(Continued from page 1)

sues of the **American Miner,** is not for any real interests of the miners, but either to form a independent Illinois miners union with Frank Farrington at the head or else to lull the militancy of the miners to sleep and then drive them into Lewis' union. Playing up the name of Frank Farrington in the last two issues of the **American Miner** would seem that Ameringer is heading in the first direction. Regardless of what Ameringer attempts to do, his influence among the miners is small and he will not get very far which every way he turns.

The most potent force in the present struggle is the rank and file movement, especially the Educational Body at Staunton, where for the last two Sunday meetings, miners from all parts of Illinois and even Indiana have gathered together, endorsed the calling of an international Miners Union to meet in St. Louis and further went on record for the following: For division of work; shorter work day; power to the pit committees to settle local grievaces; Union control of the loading machines; organize the unorganized: etc.

The calling of the convention for the purpose of organizing a new international Miners Union is a healthy sign and should meet with the approval of the rank and file miners of this country. It is now the duty of the Left wing, especially the Communist miners to clear out of the ranks of the miners the last remnants of reaction and elect men from the pits as officials o the new miners' organization, to adopt t demands of the Staunton Educational Bo